

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/NC:TWSONANDRES/ARA/CEN/CR:MMBOVA:RP

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ARA:HWSHLAUDEMAN

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P 040012Z AUG 76

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TO AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 192460

EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR TODMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XA, CS

SUBJECT: LETTER ON AFRICA FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN
MINISTER FACIO

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY
TO FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO. SIMILAR LETTERS HAVE BEEN SENT
TO PEREZ OF VENEZUELA, LIEVANO OF COLOMBIA AND SILVEIRA OF
BRAZIL.

BEGIN TEXT DEAR MR.MINISTER: DURING OUR MEETING IN
SANTIAGO, VENEZUELAN FOREIGN MINISTER ESCOVAR AND I HAD
A STIMULATING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AFRICA AND THE POTENTIAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS THERE FOR THIS HEMISPHERE. AS A
RESULT OF THIS CONVERSATION, I DECIDED TO WRITE TO PRESI-
DENT PEREZ IN ORDER TO SHARE WITH HIM A FEW OBSERVATIONS
FROM MY TRIP TO AFRICA EARLIER THIS YEAR. KNOWING OF YOUR
ACTIVE INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL MATTERS, I THOUGHT IT
MIGHT ALSO BE USEFUL TO REPEAT THESE THOUGHTS DIRECTLY TO
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YOU.

I VISITED AFRICA PRECISELY BECAUSE ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS
ASPIRATIONS DEMAND MORE ATTENTION FROM THE UNITED STATES.

THERE I FOUND IMPRESSIVE AFRICAN LEADERS IN VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRIES, POSSESSING BOTH THE REALISM AND THE IDEALISM REQUIRED FOR SUCCESSFUL NATION BUILDING.

AS WE WOULD EXPECT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AND EMPHASIS AMONG THESE CHIEFS OF STATE; BUT ALL AGREED ON THE QUESTIONS OF PRIMARY INTEREST -- SOUTHERN AFRICA, NATIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. ALL AGREED ON CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL POINTS: THE NEED FOR A QUICK AND SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA; A DEDICATION TO AFRICAN UNITY AND THE SOLUTION OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS BY AFRICANS; A COMMITMENT TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR OWN COUNTRIES; AND A GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD.

AS A RESULT OF MY TRIP TO AFRICA, WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN CERTAIN INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO INCREASE OUR TIES TO THAT CONTINENT AND TO BRING IT TO A MUCH GREATER DEGREE INTO OUR EFFORTS IN THE DEVELOPED/DEVELOPING WORLD DIALOGUE. I FIRMLY BELIEVE, AS A RESULT OF MY TRIP, THAT A PROSPEROUS AND PEACEFUL WORLD CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH THE GREATER PARTICIPATION AND COOPERATION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS.

OUR AFRICAN POLICIES ARE CLEAR. WE ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO A RAPID, JUST, AND AFRICAN SOLUTION TO THE URGENT ISSUES OF THE CONTINENT -- MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, A DEFINITE AND EARLY TIMETABLE FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF NAMIBIA, AND AN END TO INSTITUTIONALIZED INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN CONFORMITY WITH AFRICAN VIEWS, I AM MAKING EFFORTS TO BRING SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE PROCESS OF RESOLVING THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES. THIS WAS THE PURPOSE OF MY CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING LAST MONTH WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER. WE DISCUSSED THE WHOLE RANGE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AND POSSIBILITIES. THEREAFTER, I SENT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS TO CONSULT FURTHER WITH SEVERAL AFRICAN CHIEFS-OF-STATE. I BELIEVE THERE IS A POSSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS AND WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS.

THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT BY PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROCESS, WE CAN HELP ACHIEVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS AND AVOID A RACE WAR. IN THIS MANNER, WE HOPE TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR FUTURE COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLES INVOLVED.

FURTHER, FOREIGN INTERVENTION, INCLUDING THAT OF THE CUBANS, CAN BE AVOIDED. AFRICAN LEADERS EXPRESSED TO ME THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE LONG-TERM IMPACT ON AFRICA OF THE PRESENCE OF MAJOR FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES THERE. THEY WERE CLEARLY WORRIED ABOUT WHAT THE PURPOSE OF THE 15,000 CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA MIGHT BE, NOW THAT ALL OTHER FOREIGN FORCES THERE HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN WITHDRAWN.

AS YOU KNOW, CUBAN LEADERS ARE NOW CLAIMING PUBLICLY THAT TROOPS ARE BEING WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN VAGUE ABOUT HOW MANY TROOPS ARE PRESENTLY IN ANGOLA OR OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA AND HOW MANY WILL REMAIN AFTER THE END OF THIS YEAR. SHOULD EVEN HALF THE TROOPS BE WITHDRAWN, 7,000 TO 10,000 COULD STILL REMAIN NEXT DECEMBER 31. WE DO NOT AS YET HAVE INDICATIONS THAT A NET CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA IS TAKING PLACE.

MR. CASTRO INFORMED SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER PALME THAT THE GOAL OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA TODAY IS TO CONSOLIDATE THE MPLA AND GUARANTEE THE COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE. CUBA IS GIVING ANGOLA TECHNICAL SUPPORT, MILITARY EDUCATION, AND LEGAL ADVICE FOR SETTING UP MILITARY TRIBUNALS TO JUDGE SO-CALLED QUOTE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION UNQUOTE. IN REALITY IT IS CARRYING THE BRUNT OF FIGHTING THREE SEPARATE COUNTER-GUERRILLA WARS IN CABINDA, NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN ANGOLA.

THE USE OF AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO CONSOLIDATE A MINORITY
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REGIME IN AFRICA AND SHOW IT HOW TO DEAL WITH QUOTE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION UNQUOTE STANDS IN CONTRAST TO A LEADER WHO FREQUENTLY PROCLAIMS THAT IT IS NOT CUBAN POLICY TO EXPORT REVOLUTION. HOW ACCEPTABLE IS IT TO ANGOLA'S NEIGHBORS THAT CUBAN FORCES REMAIN IN THAT COUNTRY INDEFINITELY, PROVIDING INTERNAL SECURITY AND MOULDING THE FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THAT COUNTRY?

ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE ANGOLAN INTERVENTION IS THAT IT HAS MADE CUBA MORE POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT THAN EVER ON THE SOVIET UNION, AN INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF THE CUBAN MISCALCULATION IN DECIDING TO INTERVENE MASSIVELY IN ANGOLA, TOGETHER WITH THE SOVIETS.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE THE DENOUEMENT OF THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. WE OF COURSE HOPE THAT CASTRO MEANS WHAT HE SAYS ABOUT WITHDRAWING HIS FORCES AND NOT FURTHER INTERVENING IN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. WE HOPE HIS WORDS WERE NOT DESIGNED FOR DIPLOMATIC EFFECT ON THE

OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN SANTIAGO AND THE FORTHCOMING NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT MEETING IN SRI LANKA.

TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN BRINGING ABOUT SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THE ISSUES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WE MUST ALSO PAY ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS CONDITIONS OF THE CONTINENT WHICH NEED AMELIORATION. AMONG THE MOST ACUTE ARE THE DANGER OF RECURRENT DROUGHT IN THE SAHEL IN WEST AFRICA, AND THE STAGGERING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA.

IN COPING WITH THESE AFRICAN PROBLEMS, THE GOALS OF THE LEADERS OF THAT CONTINENT ARE NOT DISSIMILAR FROM THOSE IN LATIN AMERICA. PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA, WHO IS VISITING THE UNITED STATES THIS YEAR, DEEPLY INTERESTED IN MODERNIZING HIS COUNTRY. PRESIDENT LEOPOLD SENGHOR OF SENEGAL IS AN INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN STATESMAN AND POSSESSES A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF EVENTS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE AFRICA. PRESIDENT JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA IS AN ELOQUENT LEADER WITH A VERY CLEAR IDEA OF KENYA'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION.
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PRESIDENT MOBUTU OF ZAIRE BRINGS AN IMPRESSIVE DEDICATION AND SERIOUSNESS TOWARD SOLVING HIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BROUGHT ON BY THE SHARP DECLINE IN COPPER PRICES. OUR CONVERSATIONS WERE MARKED BY THE FRANKNESS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ONE EXPECTS BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS. PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA, ONE OF AFRICA'S MOST THOUGHTFUL LEADERS, PLAYS A KEY ROLE IN THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA, ANOTHER OF AFRICA'S DISTINGUISHED LEADERS WHO HAS WORKED HARD FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE AND PEACEFUL APPROACH FOR THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, FACES SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BASICALLY BECAUSE OF THE DEPRESSED WORLD PRICE OF COPPER.

BUT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES. BECAUSE THEY ARE SO MUCH CLOSER TO THE COLONIAL ERA, COLONIALISM PLAYS A LARGER ROLE IN AFRICAN THINKING THAN OCCURS IN LATIN AMERICA. THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS ARE A LESS COHERENT PART OF THE FABRIC OF THE SOCIETY; THEIR ECONOMIES ARE LESS DEVELOPED THAN IN LATIN AMERICA, THE MOST DEVELOPED OF THE THIRD WORLD.

IT IS THE SPECIAL GIFT OF THIS HEMISPHERE THAT WE OF THE AMERICAS ARE LARGELY UNTRoubLED BY WARS OR GRAVELY HAMPERED BY THE RESIDUE OF THE COLONIAL PAST. THE ISSUES WE DEBATED AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WERE IMPORTANT AND AT TIMES SHARP DIFFERENCES AROSE; BUT WE ARE FREE TO DISCUSS AND DESIGN FOR DEVELOPMENT AND FUTURE COOPERATION. WE ARE FREE OF DEBILITATING AND DISTRACTING DEBATES OVER PAST INJUSTICES.

THE PEACEFUL EXPANSION OF LATIN AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE

AFRICAN CONTINENT IS WELCOME AND IMPORTANT. IT IS IN KEEPING WITH THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS, A ROLE WHICH YOU, MR. MINISTER, HAVE SO ABLY FOSTERED. COSTA RICA PARTICULARLY OFFERS THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD ONE OF THE FINEST EXAMPLES OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND PLURALISTIC POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE INTERESTS OF OUR TWO NATIONS IN THIS REGARD, THOUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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SEPARATE AND SOVEREIGN, ARE COMPLEMENTARY. DO THEY NOT OFFER A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO FOREIGN TROOPS?

I DO NOT PRESUME THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FINAL SOLUTIONS, THOUGH I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THOSE WHICH WE PROPOSE ARE INSIGNIFICANT. OURS IS A SINCERE EFFORT TO MEET AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS, UNDERTAKEN IN THE BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF AFRICA AS IT IS IN OURS TO HAVE AN AFRICAN CONTINENT AT PEACE.

I DO FEEL AFTER VISITING MORE THAN HALF OF THE NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE AND MANY OF THE KEY LEADERS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT THAT WE HAVE A SIGNIFICANT OPPORTUNITY. MORE THAN THAT, I BELIEVE THAT WE -- THE DEVELOPED AND THE MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD -- HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO COOPERATE AND PLAY A ROLE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, NOT OF INTERVENTION BUT OF SUPPORT.

I HOPE, MR. MINISTER, THAT THIS LETTER WILL SERVE AS A VEHICLE TO FURTHER EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON THESE THEMES. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER. END TEXT.

2. PLEASE CONVEY THAT THE DEPARTMENT IS TREATING THE LETTER AS CONFIDENTIAL AND WOULD HOPE THAT THE COSTA RICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD DO SO AS WELL. KISSINGER

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC NOTES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE192460
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ARA/NC:TWSONANDRES/ARA/CEN/CR:MMBOVA:RP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760299-0766
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197608103/baaaepqa.tel
Line Count: 257
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a <MCM 20040602 CORRECTION>; EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <14 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040602
Subject: LETTER ON AFRICA FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN
TAGS: PFOR, PSDC, XA
To: SAN JOSE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006